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SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

Visit to Sri Lanka

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

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From the Chairman's Desk

The current report brings a refreshing report of bilateral relations between Sri Lanka and Pakistan. The two countries have consistently supported each other and stood together in the days of national crisis. We in Pakistan hold Sri Lanka and its friendly people in high esteem and gratitude for logistics and political support to Pakistan during 1971 when India had denied its airspace for civilian transport, in a bid to disrupt communication with the eastern province. The support was of an extremely critical nature. The resoluteness of then Prime Minister Srimavo Bandaranaike was exemplary, in the face of strong Indian pressure.

On its part, Pakistan has in its own humble way helped Sri Lanka overcome intense violence and terrorists activities, in the north in 1971 as well as in the recent past.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee had a very successful and substantive visit which left an indelible impression on the delegation.

Read on the report and favour us with your comments.



Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY



Executive Summary

A delegation of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, comprising 4 members and 2 officials, led by its Chairman, Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed visited Sri Lanka from 13th to 16th March, 2008 on the invitation of the Sri Lankan Government and the Parliament and held series of meetings with public and official representatives.

The first engagement of the delegation at Colombo was a largely attended round table discussion at the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS).

Senator Mushahid Hussain gave a brief overview of the present situation in Pakistan with special reference to February 18 elections. Most critics had predicted that there would be instability following the elections but they have been proved wrong and there were no 'doomsday scenarios'. The people of Pakistan have always overcome and bounced back after every crisis. The democratic process is an antidote to events of the recent past. Pakistan is now going to have a grand coalition.

Talking of developments in the region Senator Mushahid Hussain stated that there is now more growing regional cooperation among countries and beyond. There are new developments like Afghanistan being made a member of SAARC and China and the US are observers of SAARC. Iran is about to join the SAARC, either as a member or observer. Pakistan, India and Iran are observers of Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) which includes Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Then there is Iran–Pakistan–India gas pipeline project, the Turkmenistan–Afghanistan–India gas pipeline project and the Qatar gas pipeline project, which are driven

primarily by energy and economy. There is rapprochement between China and India, between Iran and the Gulf States and peace process between Pakistan and India is continuing. The overall scenario in the region is encouraging.

Prof. Rifaat Hussain, Director RCSS, commented that one positive factor in the region is that although there are political problems in Sri Lanka and Pakistan the economic growth rate of these countries has not been affected.

Dr. John Gooneratne said that he was trying to follow events in Pakistan and finding it a bit difficult to understand exactly what was happening with the recent bombing in Lahore and previously the assassination of Benazir Bhutto. Senator Mushahid stated that the lethality of the terror campaign has intensified and escalated. The source is the same as in the past. A reason could be the deteriorating situation in Afghanistan in the last year and a half.

Mr. Murali Reddy highlighted that bombings are not a new phenomenon in Pakistan as there have been several in Rawalpindi as well. He asked Senator Mushahid for reasons of the same. He also commented that with regard to Pak-US relations, the US has always supported Pakistan, to which the Senator replied that not just Pakistan but India also has good relations with the US, providing the example that India voted against Iran in the IAEA whilst Pakistan resisted that pressure. He said that it should be noted that there is a very fine line between friendships, relationships and core interests.

Senator Mushahid also commented that the military in Pakistan is very clear that they want to extricate themselves from politics and the

Pakistani system has maturity to learn from mistakes, the best example being the recent free and fair elections.

Mr. Paul Staniland queried as to how it is possible to create a more stable political balance in Pakistan to which the Senator replied that it is now in the hands of the elected civilian leadership and they should make sure not to drag the army into politics, as has been done in the past.

Mr. Reddy challenged the Senator's view by stating that Pakistan has not necessarily learned from the past as they were stable from 1971-76 but once again reverted to instability thereafter. Senator Mushahid reiterated that the new civilian leadership is different and the newly elected government will follow a different kind of policy. He also pointed out that although it has been said in the past that Pakistan and Pakistan Army did not want peace with India, it was President Musharraf who reached out to India to the surprise of the Indians. Therefore, this negative mindset of the Indians has to change as the attitude of the Pakistanis towards India has changed considerably.

Ms. Dayani Panagoda compared the resilience of Pakistani and Sri Lankan people and said that both peoples have the resilience to bounce back after a crisis but pointed out that politicians of both the countries are impatient and constantly need a change of governments.

Gen. Weerasooriya, following up on Dayani's comment, said that having lived there for several years he has observed several reforms like the land policy which could bridge the gap between the upper and the lower classes.

Senator Mushahid stated that the shortcoming in the political system of Pakistan is that it has a very narrow social base and comprises of elite

from the urban and rural classes. The MQM is the only middle class party in Pakistan. India chopped off the elite through land reforms in the 50s and their economic policies added millions to the middle class. The Senator also highlighted the 'Dubai factor' – that is of Pakistani workers in the gulf - which has contributed to changing attitudes and bridging the class gap. He said that the argument may not be politically correct but the military is a modernizing force in Pakistan and is not linked to class background or social status issues.

Ambassador Casie Chetty queried about the crisis of the judiciary which President Musharraf removed and how it would be dealt with? Senator Mushahid replied that there might be a legal battle on this.

Gen. Susil Chandrapala wished to move the discussion away from Indo-Pak issues to that of the whole of SAARC. This regional organization was established with lots of objectives and expectations but has failed to achieve much. The Senator commented that SAARC has been held hostage to the Indo-Pak crisis but there is hope now as there is an overall more relaxed atmosphere in the region.

Ms. Dayani Panagoda also noted the link between poverty and terrorism and had a query on Pakistan's policy on terrorism. The Senator assured that Pakistan has always supported the Sri Lankan state as it feels a sense of camaraderie with Sri Lanka and it is noteworthy that trade has doubled in the last three years. Pakistan and Sri Lanka work as a force multiplier for each other.

Mr. Balachandran asked about the current situation in Kashmir. The Senator replied that in the recent overture from Pakistan, a third party, namely, the people of Kashmir have gained

importance. Pakistan supports the decision of the people of Kashmir and would go along with their wishes.

High Commissioner Shahzad Chaudhary asked about the economic potential of South Asia and SAARC, if there was a likelihood that these economies will slow down. Senator Mushahid stated that there is an inextricable linkage between political stability and economic growth, therefore, if there is political stability in the future the economies should also benefit.

Ambassador Geetha de Silva referred to the expansion of SAARC in the form of admitting a new member, Afghanistan, as well as accepting several observers both from the east and the west, and asked if Pakistan would be in favour of making core changes in the SAARC process in view of its expansion. She drew attention to the SAARC Charter which precluded focusing on bilateral and contentious issues and asked whether in view of a growing SAARC, Pakistan would consider Charter amendments. Senator Mushahid responded that it was a fact that SAARC was expanding and that changes to the SAARC Charter were necessary.

Dr. John Gooneratne commented that he is not a SAARC optimist as it has not proved to be successful. He wondered whether India was keen to include Afghanistan due to the influence of the US. He expressed that if the region could not manage SAARC in its heyday what optimism exists that it will be more productive in future? Senator Mushahid was optimistic about the inclusion of Afghanistan into SAARC and in response to a query if India's power will be diluted with inclusion of China as an observer in SAARC, he said that it will be balanced.

Air Vice Marshall Tennekoon posed a question if the US will need to see the nuclear weapons

in Pakistan and the Senator thought it is possible as the US and Pakistan are friendly states. He also spoke of the upcoming US election and stated that it is heartening to see a potential candidate like Barack Obama, which is a manifestation of pluralism and showcases a more tolerant US.

Mr. Reddy said that the results of the recent elections in Pakistan unanimously indicate that President Musharraf should step down; however Senator Mushahid's view was that the people do not want another election. Mr. Balachandran asked Senator Mushahid if he foresees an Indo-Pak war, the Senator responded that nuclear capability of both the countries would act as a deterrent.

The delegation during its stay in Sri Lanka called on the President and the Prime Minister and held meetings with, the Speaker of the National Assembly, the Foreign Minister and Leader of the Opposition of Sri Lanka. A very significant statement was made by the President of Sri Lanka when he said, "had it not been for Pakistan, Sri Lanka would have lost Jaffna in 2002".

The Leader of the Opposition stated that SAARC is important but it has to decide what minimum it can do as there are fetters on its working concerning bilateral contentious issues. He said that Pakistan is very crucial to pipelines coming to South Asia.

The Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka stated categorically that Pakistan should continue in Commonwealth. He said that although Pakistan is facing problems pertaining to terrorism, it is helping Sri Lanka in fighting that menace.

The Speaker of Sri Lankan Parliament stated that there is meeting of minds of Buddhist and



Islamic scholars and referred to writings of Ibne Batuta, which provide empirical evidence of the same. The Prime Minister of Sri Lanka views Pakistan and Sri Lanka relationship as very special.

On its way to Sri Lanka the delegation stopped over in Doha, Qatar for logistic reasons. During its stay at Doha the delegation called on the Deputy Chairman of the Advisory Council (Majlis-e-Shoora) of the State of Qatar and discussed with him matters of bilateral interests, especially relations between the Parliament of Pakistan and the Advisory Council of the State of Qatar.

The Pakistani side showed keen interest in importing gas from Qatar and suggested that Pakistan should be queued up for gas supplies from Qatar after 2011 when Qatar would lift moratorium on export of gas to additional countries.

The delegation also visited the Headquarters of Aljazeera TV Network and was shown around the studios and other facilities at the Headquarters. The delegation showed keen interest in the state-of-the-art facilities at the studios and asked questions about the functioning of the Network.



Introduction to Sri Lanka

- **Country Profile**
- **Parliament of Sri Lanka**
- **Parliamentary Committees**
- **Privileges of Parliamentarians**
- **Public Petitions**



Introduction to Sri Lanka

Country Profile:

Sri Lanka is a tropical country situated in the Indian Ocean to the south of the Indian Subcontinent. As Sri Lanka is located between the sea routes to the east and the west, it has been exposed to a wide cultural and political influence throughout its history. The Island was well known to the travelers of many nationalities from ancient times and its reputation for spices, precious stones and scenic beauty is documented in the tales of Greeks, Romans, Arabs and Chinese. The main Island of Sri Lanka has a maximum length of 435 km in the north south direction and a maximum width of 240 km in the east west direction. The land area is 65525 sq. km together with the internal waters of 1570 sq. km. India and Sri Lanka have signed a treaty agreeing to the maritime boundary between the two countries in the Gulf of Mannar, Palk Strait and Bay of Bengal.

Sri Lanka has a history spanning a period of over 25 centuries. From 483 BC to 1815 AD Sri Lanka was ruled by local kings and rulers. From 1506 AD to 1658 AD the Portuguese ruled the maritime provinces of Sri Lanka except the Kandyan provinces. From 1658 to 1796 the country was ruled by Dutch rulers except the Kandyan provinces. The British ruled Sri Lanka from 1796 to 1815 except the Kandyan provinces. In 1815 AD the British captured the Kandyan provinces. Thereafter, it ruled the entire country till 1948.

Sri Lanka is a multi ethnic and multi religious country. Hospitality is one of the remarkable qualities of the Sri Lankan people and whether they are urban or rural, greet any visitor to the country with a charming smile and would always be ready to help without any consideration. The

majority of the people are Sinhalese, constituting 74% of the population. The Tamil population amounts to a total of 18.1% of which Indian Tamils are 5.5%. Indian Tamils are the descendents of the workers brought from India to Sri Lanka by the British in the 19th century to work on the plantations. The Muslims comprise 7.1% of the population. All other minorities including Burghers (descendents of Dutch and other Europeans), Malays, Chinese, etc. account for 0.8% of the population. The annual population growth rate is 1.1%. In Sri Lanka 72.2% people live in the rural areas while 21.5% and 6.3% live in the urban areas and Estates respectively. The literacy rate for age 5 years and above is 90% while life expectancy is 74 years (males 72 years and female 76 years).

Parliament of Sri Lanka:

A Westminster model was introduced by the Soulbury Commission in 1944. The Parliament consisted of the Queen (represented by the Governor General) and two houses namely the Senate and the House of Representatives. The House of Representatives consisted of 101 members and the Senate consisted of 30 members, of whom 15 were elected by the House of Representatives and 15 nominated by the Governor General. The Senate was abolished on October 2, 1971. From 1978 onwards the National Assembly, which is now called Parliament, has 225 members.

The Parliament meets in two alternate weeks in each month commencing after the first Sunday and meets on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays of the first and third of such weeks. But the Parliament can meet on

other days as well, with the consent of the House by moving a motion for this purpose. However, the Parliament shall meet for 26 days to consider the Appropriation Bill. These days may be reduced with the consent of the House on a motion moved for this purpose. The hours of sitting of the Parliament are from 9.00 a.m. to 12.00 noon and 1.30 p.m. to 4.30 p.m. However, at present, the sittings of the Parliament commence at 9.30 a.m. and the lunch interval has been reduced to 30 minutes by resolution moved at the commencement of each session of the Parliament. Such resolution is valid only for that particular session. Since 1997, adjournment time of the House on Fridays has been altered to 1.00 p.m. and there is no lunch interval. Though the Standing Orders specify the hours of sittings, they can be altered with the consent of the House on a motion moved at the commencement of public business by the Leader of the House or by a Cabinet Minister.

Parliamentary Committees:

The Committees in the Sri Lankan Parliament handle about 70% of the work of the Parliament. The work is delegated to the Committees to ensure that it is done with reasonable care and responsibility. Most of the specialized time-consuming work of the Parliament is referred to the Committees and when nominating Members for the different Committees the two whips are expected to be taken into consideration - the qualifications/interests and experience of each Member. On average, each Member of the Parliament holds membership in about five Parliamentary Committees. The Committees should also reflect the party composition in the House and each Committee should have members from each party represented in the Parliament.

The Public Accounts Committee is the most

important Committee in the Parliament and its tasks are:

- a. To probe whether the allocated funds have been used by the respective ministries, departments, local authorities etc. with the maximum efficiency and whether the financial regulations have been duly complied with.
- b. If any excess has taken place, to find out whether it was done with proper authority and whether it can be justified. If over expenditure is justifiable, then the Committee can make suitable recommendations to the Parliament to allow the same.
- c. If excess cannot be justified, then the Committee would make recommendations regarding action to be taken to prevent such occurrence in future.

The Committee can also make recommendations relating to under utilization of funds as well as over expenditure on extravagance. The reports of the Public Accounts Committee are usually not debated in the Parliament, though they may sometimes be referred to in the course of other debates. However, the recommendations contained in such reports are considered to be directions to the Parliaments. In many countries the Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee would be from the Opposition benches. In Sri Lanka too, on numerous occasions the Chairman has been drawn from Opposition benches but it is not an established convention.

Privileges of Parliamentarians:

The Parliamentary Privileges Act was passed in 1953 as Act No. 21 and was based on the practices and procedures of the British Parliaments. This Act, in Clause 7, states that the House and the Members shall, in addition to the privileges, immunities and powers

conferred by the Act, enjoy the following privileges for the time being enjoyed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

- Freedom of Speech
- The Right to Attend
- Right to take exclusive cognizance of its proceedings.

Part (b) of the schedule contains a list of contempts which can be punished under the Act. These include:

- a) Refusal to respond and give evidence.
- b) Perjury.
- c) Boisterous behaviour in the House.
- d) Obstructing Officers in the House.
- e) Causing disturbance within the premises.
- f) Disrespective conduct within the House.
- g) Wrongful publication relating to matters in the House.

Public Petitions:

Parliamentarians in Sri Lanka have a role to play in redressing the grievances of citizens against administrative injustices and violation of human rights.

Any citizen can send a petition to the Parliament for the redress of a grievance. The popularity of Public Petitions is evident by the large number of petitions received by the Speaker. The petitions have to be presented to the Speaker by a Member of Parliament through the Secretary General of Parliament. However, only private Members (those who do not hold ministerial portfolio) can move public petitions. The petitions should be in respectful language and devoid of irrelevant statements. They should be clear and legible and conclude with a request mentioning the relief sought. The petition has to be duly signed by the petitioners and their full names and addresses should be included.



Colombo, March 13: Meeting with the Information Minister of Sri Lanka on arrival at the Airport.



Pakistan - Sri Lanka Relations



Pakistan - Sri Lanka Relations

The diplomatic relations between Pakistan and Sri Lanka were established in 1948. Since then, the two countries have consistently maintained close, cordial and mutually supportive relations. At various times in their history, they have come to each other's help and assistance. Apart from traditionally friendly relation with Pakistan, Sri Lanka is also aware of Pakistan's significance as a counterweight to Indian hegemony in the region. Pakistan-Sri Lanka relations are irritant-free. Pakistan has extended assistance to Sri Lanka in various fields including defence. The President paid a landmark visit to Sri Lanka from July 31 to August 1, 2002. This was the first Head of State level visit from Pakistan to Sri Lanka since May 1993. The visit was also significant as it took place against the backdrop of tense security situation between Pakistan and

India. This visit led to the signing of the following agreements/MoUs:

- Framework Agreement on a Free Trade Agreement (FTA).
- A Cultural Exchange Programme for the years 2002-2006.
- MoU on cooperation in tourism and archaeology.

Sri Lanka's position on Kashmir:

In spite of significant Indian pressure on Colombo, successive Sri Lankan governments have taken a middle course on the Kashmir issue. If the Kashmir issue is raised at international forums,



Colombo, March 13: Senator Mushahid Hussain replying to media on arrival at the Airport.

such as the Human Rights Commission or the UN General Assembly, the Sri Lankan position is to abstain from voting. Sri Lanka supports a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir issue through bilateral negotiations. Seen in the perspective of the critical need of Indian support to the Sri Lankan governments on Tamil issue, their reluctance to annoy India is understandable.

Bilateral Economic Cooperation:

Both countries have so far signed the following main economic and trade related Agreements and MOUs:

- Agreement on Protection and Promotion of Investment – December 1997.
- Free Trade Agreement – August 2002, Operational since June 2005.
- Memorandum of Understanding for Technical Assistance in the field of Gemology and Jewelry – February 2005.



Verbatim Record of the meetings held in Sri Lanka

- **Discussion at Regional Centre for Strategic Studies.**
 - RCSS Profile
 - Opening Remarks by Dr. Rifaat Hussain, Director, RCSS
 - Introduction of the meeting participants
 - Presentation by Senator Mushahid Hussain on "Pakistan and the emerging regional scenario"
 - Question – Answer Session

- **Meeting with Leader of the Opposition.**

- **Call on the President of Sri Lanka.**

- **Meeting with the Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka.**

- **Meeting with the Speaker of the National Assembly.**

- **Call on the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka.**



Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS), Colombo

Regional Center for Strategic Studies (RCSS), a South Asian regional think tank, is an independent, non-profit and non-governmental organization, set up in 1993 and based in Colombo, Sri Lanka. The main objectives of the Centre are to;

- > Sponsor, coordinate and support research on South Asian strategic and security issues;
- > Promote interaction among scholars and professionals in the region and beyond who are engaged in South Asian strategic and international studies;
- > Foster linkage and collaboration among institutions focusing on studies related to conflict, conflict resolution, cooperation, stability and security in South Asia.

The work of RCSS is planned, designed and implemented under the supervision of an International Research Committee (IRC), consisting of members from South Asia and outside the region. The administrative and financial matters are conducted with the approval of the Board of Directors drawn from different countries of the region. Membership of the Centre is on application and is approved by the Board of Directors.

RCSS facilitates scholars and professionals of South Asia to address, individually and collectively, problems and issues of topical interest to the region. The principal areas of focus are:

- > Conceptions and problems of national & regional security and recent trends in thinking and approaches to security and strategic studies.
- > Problems of conventional defence building & proliferation of nuclear weapons.
- > Issues of defence expenditure and disarmament.
- > Disputes and conflicts in intra and interstate relations and their implications for regional and inter-regional cooperation and development.
- > External factors in the security and stability of the region.
- > Refugees and internally displaced persons, forced migration and other coercive forms of movement of people and their impact on security.

Proceedings of the Meeting

Vebatim Record

Opening Remarks by Dr. Rifaat Hussain – Director, RCSS:

My name is Rifaat Hussain and I am Director, RCSS. I have great personal pleasure and

privilege to welcome you all to the RCSS on the auspicious occasion of the visit of a delegation from Pakistan Senate Foreign Relations Committee to Sri Lanka. On behalf of RCSS and Board of Governors, we extend very warm

welcome to all the members of the distinguished Pakistani delegation and thankful to its leader Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed, who, I am sure everybody present in this room know, already had taken the initiative to be with us this morning and for agreeing to share his views on the important subject of "Pakistan and the emerging regional scenario".

We have a lot of wisdom, experience and knowledge gathered in this room, therefore, I will not abuse the privilege of my opening remarks for talking too long and would like to get the proceedings underway immediately.

Our guest speaker today, Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed is currently Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate. Despite, being very young, he has lived many lives of distinction and these include being a Cabinet Minister, a journalist, university teacher and a political analyst. He was Minister for Information and Broadcasting from 1997 to 1999 and also leader of the Pakistani delegation to the UN High Commission at Geneva, in 1993. He is also the Secretary General of the PML. Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed holds a Masters degree from the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University in Washington D.C. He is also the Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI), a leading Pakistani Think Tank with whom RCSS has also been collaborating in the past. So we are grateful to you, sir, and your colleagues, for being with us this morning and we look forward to a very absorbing round of discussions and since it's a round table discussion, I would request you to kindly make a presentation for about 15 or 20 minutes, which can then be followed by a question - answer session. But before we do that I know Senator Mushahid has gone round the table and has met everybody but I would suggest that each

one present formally introduce himself so that we can request our guest speaker to make his presentation. So let's start from you.

Introduction of the participants:

- **Mr. Iftikharullah Babar:** My name is Iftikharullah Babar. I am Secretary of the Foreign Relations Committee and hold the position of Additional Secretary at the Senate of Pakistan.

Other participants of the meeting:

- *Dr. John Gooneratne*
- *Mr. Murali Reddy*
- *Mr. Paul Staniland*
- *Ms. Dayani Panagoda*
- *Ambassador Casie Chetty*
- *Mr. Balachandran*
- *Ambassador Geetha de Silva*

- *Qasim Jalil:* Former Ambassador Sri Lanka.

- *Peter De Silva:* Associate Director, RCSS

- *Peter Walter*

- *Tariq Sumair:* Journalist from Islamabad.

- *Senator Col.(R) Tahir Hussain Mashhadi:* I belong to MQM, a political party in Pakistan. I am member of the Foreign Relations Committee and Chairman of the Senate Committee of Rules of Procedures and Privileges.

- *AVM Shahzad Chaudhry:* High Commissioner for Pakistan to Sri Lanka.

- Prof. Rifaat Hussain:* Thank you very much. Now I request Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed to take the floor.

"Pakistan and the Emerging Regional Scenario"

*Presentation by
Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed*

In the name of the Almighty, the Lord of all mankind. Good morning, ladies and gentlemen, Good morning Sir. It's a great privilege and pleasure to be here at this Think Tank and for us Pakistanis it is a matter of great distinction that this Think Tank is headed by one of our preeminent intellectual and scholar on the region and otherwise also – Dr. Syed Rifaat Hussain. He and I are good friends for the last 20 – 25 years when I was the Editor of the daily 'The Muslim', which was a liberal left of centre newspaper in the days of General Zia ul Haq. Dr. Rifaat was one of our very prominent columnists on Foreign Affairs. Of course, I have some other friends here; I recognize High Commissioner Mr. De Silva. Welcome back!

I will give you an overview of how we see things in Pakistan evolving and what are the major trends. I will start with Pakistan first and before that I will just give you very brief capsule on Pakistan - Sri Lanka relations. I have privilege to be here in Sri Lanka and as the High Commissioner knows that Pakistan-Sri Lanka have longstanding, broad based strategic relationship as South Asian neighbours. For me, personally, it is a homecoming because I came here 20 years ago for my honeymoon and I remember I chose this place because as a third world journalist I could not afford vacation in Europe while here I got a good deal, courtesy a friend, for \$ 20 per night in a five-star hotel. I really fell in love with Sri Lanka since then because it was a good visit. I have had also an intellectual relationship and friends here too. I used to write for the daily, 'The Island' and the fortnightly 'The Sri Lankan Guardian'. Then Mr. de Silva was here and we had a couple of

conferences. I invited editors of 'The Island' of that period and also other Sri Lankan editors like Denzel Peiris, my personal friend, when he was editor of 'The South' in London. I feel Sri Lanka had always made a tremendous intellectual political contribution. Sri Lanka is also a vanguard trendsetter, starting with first woman prime minister of the world and then others followed suite.

Pakistan has just had a very good election and people of Pakistan deserve to be complemented for proving the prophets of doom wrong. I remember, I was coming on a lot of TV talk shows like BBC, CNN and others and everybody was saying all hell will break loose after 18th, the D-day. They would ask, will the elections be free, fair and free of violence? Will the election results be accepted and what will happen the day after as the day after was supposed to be something like a doomsday scenario. I am pleased to report that the doomsday scenario was proven wrong, the people of Pakistan demonstrated maturity, Government of Pakistan showed exemplary commitment to the power of the ballot box in an atmosphere which was honest and transparent. The elections were relatively peaceful and it was a unique election because the victors and the losers both had accepted the election results and said let us move on.

So I think that after the rough ride that we had last year, Pakistan went through different challenges, difficulties and crisis and most of them self-induced mistakes. Mistakes were made and that reminded me of a saying of Napoleon Bonaparte, he said that when difficulties and



mistakes come, they come in battalions. We in Pakistan had those difficulties and mistakes in battalions, like the problem of the judiciary, with media, with Red Mosque with emergency and culminating in the tragic assassination of Ms. Bhutto. But there has been a characteristic of the people of Pakistan and that, I think, is extremely important to understand this aspect of the Pakistani nation that the nation has tremendous resilience. There are crises, there are problems. The people face them, the people overcome them and then they bounce back. We showed resilience on many occasions in the last 60 years, so there is again this bounce back period for the people of Pakistan. We are going to have a grand coalition and in this grand coalition there will be a national agenda hopefully, which is above party politics. I think the power of the ballot box has been positive and we feel that the elections are the biggest antidote to our major challenges of extremism and terrorism.

There has to be a democratic process which has legitimacy amongst the people of Pakistan. So this power of public opinion which was manifested in Pakistan is not something unique to Pakistan, it is there flourishing in the region. You apparently had very good elections in your country also on 10th of March in the eastern region after 14 years, with a very good turnout. Tomorrow, Iran is going to have elections. In Nepal, the Maoists laid down arms, the monarchy is now history and they are going to move forward under a new democratic political order and power of public opinion, I think, also is very well exemplified. In India, the Indo-US nuclear deal, which was a big flagship of the emerging relationship between Washington and Delhi was scuttled because of power of public opinion and role of the progressive parties, opinion leaders and so forth. So it shows that in all new and old democracies in the region this power of public opinion is important and on a broader front, I

would say that this power of public opinion has also led to perhaps the greatest stability after 9/11. We had two wars in the region, one in Afghanistan and the other in Iraq. People were wondering whether there will be a third world war. It is very heartening and again due to power of public opinion that none other than the Commander in Chief of the US Central Command, Admiral Fallon, speaking against administration policy said 'No' to war in the region.

So I think, that is the healthy sign and we are very heartened by this development. This is one major development at the political level and at the level of countries and among countries in the region it means the region is now settling down after the post 9/11 volatility and speaking to each other and dialogue is going to be the way forward.

Then there is another important new trend which I like to underline which I think is extremely important because I am speaking in Sri Lanka. In SAARC countries, third world countries and Non-Aligned countries, there is emergence of new regionalism in our part of the world and, I think, this is extremely important. China, South Asia, Central Asia and parts of West Asia are now teeming up in a confluence of interests. That is translating into regional cooperation. China today, is an observer of SAARC, Afghanistan is being a member of SAARC, Iran is about to join SAARC, either as a member or observer. Pakistan, India and Iran are observers of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) which includes Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Then there is Iran–Pakistan–India gas pipeline project, there is Turkmenistan–Afghanistan–India gas pipeline project and the Qatar gas pipeline project, driven primarily by energy and economy. In fact, so many pipelines are being talked about

in the region that there is a joke now that a 'Pipelinstan' is in the offing. Apart from Pakistan, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, there is rapprochement between China and India, between Iran and Gulf States and the peace process between Pakistan and India. So I think, the overall scenario in the region is quite different than it was five or six years ago. So these are amongst the positive trends.

There is also a disturbing trend and that is about campaigning against terrorism in the region, post-9/11, which is festering especially in Afghanistan. I think that is important to understand that there is inextricable linkage between securities of states, individual states and the security of the region as a whole. So you can no longer compartmentalize internal security. If there is disturbance in Sri Lanka and Pakistan the region is going to be affected and if Afghanistan is unstable the fallout will be felt in Pakistan, as is being felt. Unfortunately, certain mistakes were made after 9/11 when the Taliban were defeated in Afghanistan and the US and the Western countries repeated the mistakes of the 1989 joint jihad against the Soviet Union. They walked away from Afghanistan, they walked into Iraq, and they left Pakistan and Afghanistan in the lurch, in fact, leaving Pakistan to hold the baby in the bathwater. Basically, the US outsourced the war in Afghanistan to our British friends, to our NATO friends, to the European allies, who, it seems, neither have the stomach to sustain fight nor the will to win. Then certainly, they discovered that they might be loosing in Afghanistan, that the problem is not going to be solved. Then they started talking of new war without settling Afghanistan, without settling Iraq. There is talk of war with Iran, so I think that destabilized the region a lot and attention was diverted away from Afghanistan.

Three billion dollars are being spent every week

in Iraq and a very small microscopic percentage of that is being spent in Afghanistan. What was pledged, what was promised, has not been delivered. So I think, that is a problem. We feel that there is need for a major political initiative and a need for re-think in the US policy.

We have been saying that there is a need for a special envoy of NATO or US focusing on Pakistan and Afghanistan because there are 50 thousands troops in the area which is disturbing because what happens is that if things go wrong then there is a blame game. Pakistan is being made a scapegoat for the problems of Afghanistan.

Pakistan is one country which has made the maximum sacrifice, in human terms, in political terms and in financial terms. In campaigning against terrorism we have lost 1000 soldiers. We are facing bomb blasts because there is fallout of certain policies. If things go wrong in Iraq, Iran is blamed, if things go wrong in Lebanon, Syria is blamed. This blame game should end. There should be a review and reassessment of policies and there has to be a more cooperative approach on this ugly menace of terrorism which has no boundaries, which has no religion.

The attempt to link terrorism with the great religion of peace, tolerance and harmony – Islam, is a serious mistake because that boomeranged in the Muslim streets and there had been reaction to that because the terms Islamic-fascism and Islamic terrorism that are used, evokes a reaction. I was recently in London and was interviewed in the 'South Asia' live program. An Indian retired Air Marshal, on the other side, said, "you Pakistanis have the Islamic bomb", and I said, "Air Marshall, I never realized that bombs also have a religion because by that reckoning India should have the vegetarian bomb". I don't want



Colombo, March 13: Senator Mushahid Hussain addressing the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS).

to give it a religious coloring but when religion is linked to extremism and terrorism that evokes a negative reaction. I think, the overall situation is moving in the right direction.

In fact the use of force has failed because the use of force alone cannot resolve the issues. There is a need for rethink. We are waiting for the results of American Presidential elections. There is going to be a regime change in the US, it is under their Constitution that they have the regime change by 20th January 2009, let us hope that whichever new regime emerges in Washington DC will be more sensitive to the Muslim public opinion, to regional public opinion, to South Asian public opinion, to third world public opinion, to European public opinion and also to their own public opinion and we, on our part, should remain committed to our strong relationship in a natural abode, which is South Asia.

Pakistan is a bridge between South Asia, Central Asia and West Asia and given our location we would like to play a positive role. We are very happy that during difficulties last year, all our friends in South Asia and India showed a lot of concern and sensitivity and a positive attitude – hoping and expecting that things will settle down, and I think, we are in a phase of settling down period. Based on a democratic political process, Pakistan, through free and fair elections, is a positive sign for the region and also for the people of Pakistan.

I am thankful to the Director, Dr. Syed Rifaat Hussain, and Mr. de Silva. Thank you all, and I look forward to your comments and your questions if you have.

Question – Answer Session:

Dr. Rifaat Hussain: How does one interpret the bombings taking place in Pakistan, first at the venue in Liaquat Bagh where Ms. Bhutto was killed and recently in Lahore?

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: I think it is a very pertinent point. Pakistanis are also pondering over this because the lethality of this terrorist campaign has now intensified and escalated beyond the confines of the borders with Afghanistan to the urban centers. It is a challenge to the state apparatus in Pakistan. The new Government sees this as the biggest challenge and particularly how to go about it. It is here that we need support and cooperation of our friends across the border also because if you see the situation in Afghanistan, there has been a deterioration of security situation there during the last year and a half and especially in the Hilmand province area. And there was a bomb blast in Kabul this morning so there has been this escalation despite the presence of NATO troops. We have a very porous border with Afghanistan, which is 2600 km long and we have been striving to get better equipment and better training for our paramilitary troops stationed at the border. We hope that this challenge can be met collectively but it is a serious challenge. In fact, the security paradigm has now been redefined in Pakistan which is that the security threat to Pakistan is no longer external but internal, maybe from home sprung terrorism that may have roots outside Pakistan's frontiers.

Mr. Reddy: My question is about the source of this blast; I think the sense of the question is whether the source of this blast is the same. The Senator made that point freely that the source continues to be one which actually is initiated or triggered in Afghanistan or on the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan and

it is not something that is localized regionally, the source is the same and spreading all over Pakistan.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: He is referring to Rawalpindi, a garrison town where the military HQ is situated. It is also referred to as twin city with Islamabad. Yes, I alluded to that, when I said broadly that linkage of this is intertwined with countries and the region. We have seen that the situation is deteriorating in Afghanistan. We have seen situation in tribal territories of Pakistan deteriorating simultaneously and an escalation of violence so cumulatively that is having an impact and fallout to other parts of Pakistan.

Mr. Reddy: You talked about battalions of difficulties and problems; what, according to you, is the real problem of Pakistan? Pakistan army is there and according to you India and Pakistan are husband and wife to the US. Since 1948 you were a committed ally, now you say there is need for rethink, I do not understand this contradiction.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: The second question first. I think the US has more than one wife, the second wife is India. This reminds me of a statement of Ambassador David Mulford, US Ambassador to India, on 25th of January, 2006 when he said that unless India changes its policies on Iran nuclear program, the India-US nuclear deal would be scuttled. It was a public statement and, for the first time, the US Ambassador in New Delhi was speaking like a Viceroy and the Indian line changed and India voted against Iran in IAEA unlike Pakistan, which did not do that. So we resisted the pressure and that is the amount of relationship Pakistan has been through. India is now discovering new relationship. When one falls in love with somebody then there is certain excitement and

I see the excitement in Indian establishment, the Indian media and Indian think tanks. We have been through it three and four times, so we are not alone in that.

We think, Pakistan is very clear despite intimacy of relations with the United States that Pakistan's core interests are always preserved, protected and promoted at all times. So we have in all crucial moments, starting from 1960 i.e. Ayub Khan days, we gave basis to America, we joined SEATO and when it came to our relationship with China, which was the biggest enemy of USA, we become their best friend. At that time, we earned the ire of Washington when India was getting arms, the Nonaligned India under Nehru was getting arms from the US. India was doing the same because they wanted to block the communist China.

In the 70s and 80s we had a very close relationship with the US in Afghan Jihad. It was a joint jihad wherein the CIA funneled \$ 2.1 billion, trained 200,000 Afghan Mujahideen, and 30,000 Arab volunteers including a gentleman by the name of Mr. Osama Bin Laden, but we also continued with our nuclear program. We did not accept the pressure from the United States on our nuclear program. Of course, we followed the Indians after they went nuclear because that was in our national security interest. Even now India may have blinked on Iran due to US pressure but we did not. We continued with Iran- Pakistan-India pipeline project, we did not endorse the Iraq war rather condemned it and did not send troops to Iraq. We did not support the US in the UN on Iraq in March 2003 when it asked us for support, because we felt it was wrong and the war had no legality. When the Hamas government emerged in Palestine, Pakistan was one of the first countries to invite the Foreign Minister of Hamas Government, to visit Pakistan despite US opposition. So there

is a fine line drawn between relationships, friendships and even alignments and the country's core interests, which are paramount at all times and this has been a consistent stream in our foreign policy and national security.

Coming to the other point, when we say review and assess, we are saying what Mr. Obama and Mrs. Hillary Clinton are saying. Now coming to the term battalions, I used the term in terms of Napoleon saying about difficulties and mistakes. Countries came through that and bounced back. Last years, mistakes were made and as I said people of Pakistan have bounced back and they have moved on. It is a very good thing, very positive. I think it needs to be understood. Pakistani military is very clear about its role. It wants to extricate itself from politics and under the new Army chief Gen. Kayani, there has been a new profile of Pakistan armed forces, which is delinking from politics and I think that this delinking is already underway. Despite what happened in the last 6 to 7 years, during 2008 the Army is in enough controversy. As elections are concerned, no body is accused of meddling in politics or manipulating the electoral process. So I think, that's a positive sign and as I said earlier the Pakistani people have the maturity and the system has the maturity to learn from mistakes to reverse wrongs and to move on and Mr. Musharraf, the much maligned Mr. Musharraf, took off the uniform on schedule, lifted the emergency and also held, despite the surprise of its detractors, free and fair elections and the results have been accepted by everyone.

Mr. Paul Staniland: Has Pakistan institutionalized the civil - military balance?

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: The army wants to do its job, combat extremism and terrorism. Now the ball is in the court of elected civilian leadership, how they get their act together

and how they work out the coalition is for everybody to see. The army is away from politics and the civilians have to ensure not to drag the army into civilian matters because there is history of past trend where one cycle was civilian rule and the other was military intervention. Now the civilian leadership has taken over and in Frontier, Awami National Party (ANP) has taken over. Army is involved in counter insurgency and anti terror operation. Now, we have elected government which has to follow a different kind of policy. The people of Pakistan have the resilience to learn from the mistakes. In Pakistan everybody is chastened today, the military establishment is chastened, political leadership is chastened, new elements like the media and civil society have come out after 60 years and I think we have arrived in history to be able to resolve issues in a more mature manner and I will add *Insha-Allah* to it.

I think, it is not a question of civil or military, it's a question of mindset. I remember they say that Pakistani military does not want peace with India, because it suits them to have a certain relation. Now that fell flat. Here was a man with uniform by the name of General Pervez Musharraf, who reached out to India in a manner which was unprecedented. In fact, the Indian political establishment developed cold feet, they did not respond, they backed off. I think the rigid mindset, rigid thinking has to change. Today, there is no constituency in Pakistan which seeks confrontation with India.

Kashmir Singh, an Indian spy was released after 35 years while a Pakistani spectator was arrested and his dead body was returned. I think hawkish mindsets based on Cold War blinkers have to change, whether its South Block or anybody else, it should change.

Air Vice Marshall (Retd.) Tennekoon: Kargil

insurgency was responsible for fostering US – India relations. The international community is now helping central government because of its political economy.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: Thank you, sir, I would broadly agree with you about Indian role vis-a-vis the US. In a very interesting book, which needs to be read it's "Beginning of the Romance". You mentioned the book by Strobe Talbot, "Engaging India" that is based on lot of controversies and it is interesting that privately it was expressing lot of distrust of Pakistan while publicly Pakistan was still trying to normalize relations with India.

The post nuclear scenario and about policeman business, I think your point is well taken. According to figures in the Indian press, India is supposed to buy arms worth \$ 100 billion in the next 10 years and the US is going to provide arms worth \$ 63 billion to the Gulf States, Middle East and Israel. So, I think, there is this arms race developing. I will differ with you, sir, very humbly when you said the international community has allowed both Pakistan and India to become nuclear. In the case of India, I would agree with you they wanted India to counter China but in the case of Pakistan we got crashed in the nuclear club without their approval and they did not want us for a number of reasons to be a nuclear power. But I am grateful to Mr. Vajpayee that he allowed us to become nuclear power because when they tested the nuclear device they gave us the opportunity to go nuclear and this is why when he came to Pakistan I thanked him for committing to all sins and we follow the same.

Ms. Dayani Panagoda: Nobody doubts the resilience of the public in Pakistan and Sri Lanka but politicians have no patience. How do you look at that?



Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: I think it's a very interesting point. My own criticism of Pakistani political system has always been there, that the system is not represented, not broad based, because we had a very narrow social base and the political system has elites from the urban and rural rich. The Indians chopped off the elite by implementing land reforms and their economic policies injected the middle class in the economy. You see India banned the economic policies injected in the middle class in the economy. You see India banned the *zamindari* system in the 50s. Mrs. Gandhi banned the privy persons also. The elite which emerged after the Independence was choked by the state. In Pakistan, that elite continued and, joined by the newly rich, made more money. Now that is changing for the first time.

Now, I come to Dr. Rifaat Hussain's point of a booming economy. The booming economy has spread to certain middle classes. For instance, the only party which is absolutely based on middle class is MQM, based in Sindh, Karachi and they have no feudal, no rich guys. They are ideologically a middle class party.

Now things are changing, there is a self starter confidence in the people of Pakistan. NGOs, middle classes, civil society and, I think, the most significant thing has been this media revolution in Pakistan. In the last five years, the most massive revolution in a third world country in a shortest period. Mr. Musharraf is a victim of his own success. He spawned this revolution. Mr. Reddy (an Indian journalist who lived in Pakistan) you can bear me out. Over fifty TV channels with one voice discussing problems from left to right. So that is the important check on the excesses of the politicians and, I think, your point is valid and I think politicians in Pakistan in past have made mistakes.

AVM Shahzad Chaudhry:- Sir, may I add something to the discussion with your permission. This is in relation to why the democratic traditions do not seem to be as sound. Let's say in Pakistan, as it would be in India, for example, just as a matter of history, I think the iconic presence of Nehru, starting from 1947 to 1964 provided the continuity to a system that was already in place or formed after independence in India. Whereas in Pakistan unfortunately, we have suffered because of number of our leaders had to change or died and that iconic presence was not available. So, the condition was well set in India that is what, I think, strengthened the situation. But as we learn more and more as I mentioned in terms of experiences, I think the future looks much more promising, and being from the military in my previous career and being a pensioner, the military in any country is very patriotic and understanding of the situation. It has to be the right people win the right job rather than being forced into situation which, I do not give any apology for the military but wherever the excesses are they are, of course, understandable and I think that's the lesson that we learn out. I used to be from air force and air force is very democratic in Pakistan.

I want to add one thing about Mr. Nehru, there is no doubt that because Nehru was there for about 17 years and he laid the ground for modern India including India's economic policy and foreign policy, he used to write letters after every forth night to all the Chief Ministers of Indian states to monitor progress on various issues. So, he gave the vision and he had the will to translate vision into reality through continuity unlike Pakistan of course, and I think that was important and boils down to the quality of leadership.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: One important element leading to some semblance

of egalitarianism in Pakistan has been the role of what we call the 'Dubai factor'. The people of Pakistan, who went to live and work overseas, including the Gulf States, are currently total 7.7 million. This process started in the Gulf boom years of mid 70s, under Mr. Bhutto. So, in the thirty years period roughly 50 billion dollars have been sent home, which has also sprouted the new middle class. Ironically, you know that in Pakistan, may be politically it is incorrect to say, the military is a modernizing force and that is one area where military is not linked with class background because interestingly military is a great equalizer, Gen. Kayani is not a son of a general, his father was a junior commissioned officer in the army. Mr. Musharraf's father was some junior officer in the Foreign Service. Interestingly, as a modernizing force where the middle class has an opportunity for social ability has been the armed forces but now in civil society, education, Dubai factor and so forth is also broadening the base. So there is this change in Pakistan and then change would be key to building a more democratic and egalitarian Pakistan.

Mr. Reddy: What Madam Prof. said about executive powers of the President, this is one of the burning or turning issue in Pakistan at the moment, what is your take on 58(2) (b), which gives power to the President to dismiss the Government, to dissolve the Parliament, to do anything he wants.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: I already gave my view on that and I repeat that, I feel that it is a source of instability in the political process.

Mr. Reddy: Will your party favour it?

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: No, I am giving my personal views, I am not here as a

party representative, the issue will be decided in Pakistan by the Party. I say this in my personal capacity. I personally feel that it's the source of instability in the political process because this Article of the Constitution has been used four times between 1988 and 1996 and I think it was one of the major factors of de-stability.

Ambassador Casie Chetty: Now the judiciary. Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry was removed from office by President Musharraf. The two parties PPP and PML (N) decided that they have to stand for the restoration of judiciary. If the two major parties insist on that, how would President Musharraf deal with it because he has tremendous powers?

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: I think there would be a legal battle. I would say one good thing about the British influence in Pakistan and South Asia is that even if there is violation of rule of law the battle is fought on the basis of legality, so there can be a legal interpretation. I think there will be a different interpretation, he will challenge it. You cannot do it with simple majority, you have to have 2/3rd majority so I would anticipate legal wrangling on this issue.

Ambassador Casie Chetty: Law of necessity?

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: I jokingly said the other day in Pakistan that the doctrine of necessity may have been buried by Supreme Court, but it is still very relevant in politics and in foreign policy.

General Susil Chandrapala: In SAARC, certain objectives have not been obtained.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: We should accept the fact that despite tremendous potential, and your initial comments well taken, I would say it has been held hostage to Pakistan – India

rivalry and animosity. We agree on malaria eradication and birth control issues but on fundamental issue, which affects the destiny of the people, there is disconnect between Delhi and Islamabad. Otherwise, generally there is a more relaxed atmosphere in the region now. We are now in a position to tackle all these issues and everybody, I understand, knows the limitations of power. I was in Bangalore in 1986 at the SAARC Summit when Mr. Prabakhar was flown in the Indian air force plane to meet Mr. Jayewardene. Those things have changed, Indians are also chastened and they were meddling in Sri Lanka in the past and they lost their Prime Minister because of that. So, I feel that with the new opening up in our part of the world, mostly in Central Asia due to energy, China is reaching out, Russia even now spreading with gas reserves, a very prominent instrument in the foreign policy now. They control the energy, the power house of Europe now.

Ms. Dayani Panagoda: Focus on South Asia is moving away because of economic reasons?

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: South Asia institutional mechanism SAARC is spreading itself and broadening its base. The definition of South Asia needs to be redefined. China is part of South Asia, Afghanistan is part of South Asia and Iran is part of Central Asia.

Ms. Dayani Panagoda: Combating terrorism in the region, what is your view?

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: Regarding terrorism, of course, poverty can be one of the elements. There is a saying, "hungry man is an angry man." But of course, there are other larger issues of deprivation and injustice, which can lead a person to take extreme decision. I mean none of the 9/11 bombers were poor, none of them was educated in a Madrassah, they were

all educated in the West. So, there are elements and poverty is definitely the breeding ground because that espouses alienation, anger, frustration and one's leading to desperation in terms of action, I think, in a country like Sri Lanka which we consider as a strong friend, I would even use the word ally similarly China, would be one, and Bangladesh also, because with these countries we feel a certain empathy, certain camaraderie. With Sri Lanka, may be like a big brother, but also there is people-to-people contact, there is certain rapport among our leadership, among our people, the High Commissioner will bear me out, you have seen that kind of goodwill.

Mr. Balachandran: What is happening in Kashmir?

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: It is a missed opportunity. Indians always said that Pakistani military is the problem but President Musharraf initiated talks on Kashmir and you know he is from the military. One thing has happened and that is introduction of the factor of Kashmiris. Whatever Kashmiris want we will support them. Indian Prime Minister is talking to Hurriyat Conference and we are talking to Farooq Abdullah. There is unwillingness in the military establishment on this issue.

AVM Shahzad Chaudhry: Keeping in view the multi-ethnic differences in mind, do you think there is any livelihood that economies in the SAARC will slow down and with it political stability?

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: No two views about that. But Pakistan's resilience can be seen in the context of three Gulf wars, three Afghan wars, three mini wars with India and hosting three to five million Afghan refugees. Geographical map around Pakistan has changed.

I told Admiral Fallon about their incompetence in Afghanistan. If there is political stability in the future, the economies should also benefit.

Ambassador Geetha De Silva: Will Pakistan look at revitalizing SAARC in the form of admitting new members like Afghanistan as well as allowing several observers both from the East and the West? Will Pakistan favour making core changes in the SAARC process in view of its expansion? Moreover, SAARC Charter precludes focusing on bilateral and contentious issues. Now, given the expansion of SAARC, would Pakistan consider amendments in the SAARC Charter?

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: SAARC has to revisit its Charter. There are real problems in the region and we have to come out of our bureaucratic thinking. The role has to be expanded. We have to live with our neighbours. The role of political forces has to be taken into consideration as we all know President Bush could not address Indian Parliament because of political forces.

Dr. John Gooneratne: I am not a SAARC optimistic. India was keen on bringing on Afghanistan into SAARC. Pakistan argued that if Afghanistan is allowed into SAARC then China should come in as an observer. In the previous years we could not manage SAARC, therefore, how can, with large membership, it manage itself?

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: Afghanistan can become a member of SAARC with Pakistan's support. New blood will bring new ideas in SAARC, which will be a plus for the Association. With the inclusion of China as an observer the power of India in the region will be balanced. Whereas, the gang of four, namely, Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Maldives will

increase in strength.

Dr. John Gooneratne: How do you see the way forward in Afghanistan?

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: During the Taliban days narcotic production had come down to zero percent while in 2007 93% heroine was produced in Afghanistan. NATO says that eliminating heroine is not part of their mandate. Presently, drug lords double as war lords. On the other hand, Iraq had nothing to do with terrorism and Osama bin Laden with 9/11 but both Iraq and Afghanistan were attacked which proves that the United State had an ideological foreign policy. The only way forward in Afghanistan is to talk to the people in the resistance movement, people like Gul Badin Hekmatyar, to find a solution to the Afghan problem.

AVM Tennekoon: Is Pakistan concerned about safety of nuclear weapons? Will the US like to see nuclear weapons in Pakistan?

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: we are a friend of the US, Iraq was not. Pakistan is not a threat to the US and the US has no serious policy apprehensions. Hillary Clinton talked about sending a special US envoy to Pakistan in January, 2007. The new administration will take control in Washington in January, 2009. Therefore, they should act now. If Admiral Fellon is not on board then there is a problem. There is pluralism in the United States which is demonstrated by Obama's candidacy.

Mr. Reddy: The results of the recent elections are against President Musharraf and people are saying that he should step down. What is your view?

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: The people



of Pakistan are not ready for a new round of elections. Mr. Zardari has talked about institutional roles which is important.

Mr. Balachandran: Do you foresee a war between India and Pakistan?

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: We live in a dangerous neighborhood. We had conflicts and we fought wars. India detonated nuclear devices for prestige while Pakistan did it for defence. Nuclear weapons are a big deterrence. War is no longer an option. We are adversaries in nuclear weapons.

Prof. Rifaat Hussain: If you look at June 24, 2004 meeting between the Foreign Secretaries, who defined the nuclear weapons as a stabilizing factor. If there was no détente between China and India, problems with Pakistan would have compounded. We have to watch the external alliances very closely. Thanks to Mushahid Hussain Sayed for his talk. He is eloquent and his analyses have depth. I thank all the guests for their visit and participation in the discussion.

Meeting with H.E. Ranil Wickremasinghe, Leader of the Opposition

March 13, 2008.

Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe: Welcome to Sri Lanka. Pakistan and Sri Lanka have been old friends from the time of independence, and we value that friendship. Since independence we have the same kind of constitution. Both Pakistan and Sri Lanka have carried out their own campaigns to strengthen the democratic framework and to ensure that the democratic structure and franchise is protected. In Pakistan, you have gone through elections and face a very crucial constitutional development, which we are all following with interest and wishing all of you in Pakistan the best in moving forward, in facing these issues and other issues that any state has to confront. In addition to the democratic structure, you are also faced with internal violence and internal terrorism like Sri Lanka. In Sri Lanka also, we are now carrying out a major campaign of what we feel. Today we have to strengthen democracy and debate is going on in parliaments and in our two countries and that is also held in the streets, which have now become one source of agitation and protest. These are parallel developments and problems.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: Thank you Excellency. On behalf of the Pakistani delegation, we are grateful to you for receiving us on the very first day on our arrival. Let me introduce our distinguished members of the delegation; Senator Tahir Hussain Mashhadi, he is from Karachi, he is from MQM - a coalition partner of ours, and it is middle class based party and a very strong party. Senator S.M. Zafar, he is a leading lawyer of Pakistan. He is former law minister in the government of Field Marshal Ayub Khan and is a very important leader of the human rights movement. He is Chairman of the Human Rights Committee of Senate. I consider him the conscience of the Parliament. Mr. Iftikhar Ullah Babar, Secretary of our Committee. On his left, is Maulana Sami-ul-Haq, he is from the religious right, he heads the biggest and the most prominent seminary(Madrassah), namely, Darul Uloom Haqqania, in Pakistan. He is a leading religious scholar as well as Chairman of the Standing Committee on Religious Affairs. Mr. Bashir Wali Mohmand, is a former High Commissioner of Pakistan to Sri Lanka and a



"I have always said SAARC has a lot of potential. We should go ahead on it but still there are major issues, bilateral issues, of which one is Kashmir, but in my view, we have to make up our minds what minimum SAARC is going to be." Ranil Wickremasinghe

very close friend of Sri Lanka.

It is great pleasure to be here. You are an old friend of Pakistan. I must say, after 30 years of politics you are still very young and at the age of 29 you became a Cabinet Minister. You qualify as a veteran politician but still a youthful politician, I would say. Excellency, you initiated talks with Tamil Tigers and played a very major role in that. With the UNP leadership I had a pleasure meeting with His Excellency Jayewardene in 1987, I came to Sri Lanka for my honeymoon and the High Commissioner to Sri Lanka at that time arranged my meeting with President Premadasa, who was very close friend of Pakistan. We had a very good relationship with your Party, which means very good relationship with Sri Lanka and the people of Sri Lanka, the government of Sri Lanka and political parties of Sri Lanka.

As you said very rightly that we had a very good election, honest and transparent elections, whose results have been accepted equally by victors and losers. So we have shared experiences and we all have ups and downs.

Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe: I think the way in which we handle all issues including the executive & judiciary is important. It is like a republican system more like France, which, if you look in the late 80s and early 90s, have been able to carry on.

Senator S.M. Zafar: We are moving to a more democratic process. Media is playing a role. The country is robust and looking at the future. Political rivals have become friends. My party has lost but we welcome the new party in power. There is much more tolerance in our society. How do you see the influence of SAARC in the area?

Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe: I have always said SAARC has a lot of potential. We should go ahead on it but still there are major issues, bilateral issues, of which one is Kashmir, but in my view, we have to make up our minds what minimum SAARC is going to be. We are in the middle of Indian Ocean and if we don't get the amount of cooperation, like in OPEC where despite all the problems and differences they cooperate. I think one area of cooperation is energy. We look at the importance of resources that are available, hydro energy resources and gas resources. Pakistan is really crucial to any pipeline coming to South Asia that can be one major area of cooperation.

Senator Col. (R) Tahir Hussain Mashhadi: Thank you, Excellency. I have great pleasure in meeting you. I represent Muttahidda Qaumi Movement (MQM), which is a smaller party south of Pakistan in Sindh province. We are a middle class Party with grass roots support and we also welcome the elections results in Pakistan. We were coalition partners with PML(Q) but unlike the coalition partner, we gained more seats in this election than before but we offered them complete cooperation so that the democratic process does take root and there is an end of military dictatorship. Our major concern is terrorism and fundamentalism. We hope that with the cooperation of bigger parties there will be economic revival. Basic infrastructure is there, but some trickle down affects have not reached the people. We have a smaller mandate, we respect the bigger mandate, and we expect they respect our mandate.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: Their Party is based in Karachi which is a commercial capital of Pakistan. For Pakistan's economic stability the role of MQM is pivotal.

Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe: The question is

how the major parties, religious parties and smaller parties going to run the system and that is the biggest challenge.

Senator S. M. Zafar: Religious parties have lost this election which is a good sign for Pakistani society and politics. How does the committee system in Sri Lankan Parliament work?

Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe: The committees are not very strong. We are suggesting something like the American system which gives more powers to parliament, and also strengthening the role of examining public finance and human rights. We are stressing that the Cabinet which has 75 members should not exceed 30 members initially, and should ultimately come down to 20 but the break up of Ministries is difficult to follow.

Senator S.M. Zafar: In SAARC countries you have the highest literacy rate, how did you achieve that?

Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe: Yes, the process for achieving high literacy rate started in 1920 when the missionaries came. We earlier had the Buddhist and then Catholic Church missionaries, who came and subsequently got into education. The English Public School system was firstly spread by the missionaries and then in competition by the Buddhists, Hindus and then finally the Muslims came and there was large number of schools which were in the national languages. Sri Lankans also built buildings in the villages and paid for the teachers. By 1940, we moved up and education is free. I would say that India and Pakistan have maintained quality.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: Your current Cabinet of about 100 is the biggest Cabinet in the history of Sri Lanka. How many members in the treasury?

Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe: Treasury members are 112.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: Out of 112, 104 are Cabinet members.

Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe: But we recommend that in stage-I the number of ministers would be 30 to 32 and in stage-II it should come down to 20 after the second election. The ministries should be fixed by law like the USA, so even if the ministers change the policies should not be changed. The break up of ministries is very very difficult. We are bringing the whole concept of committee system in the Parliament. We are waiting what would be the results of political solution? We are going for what we call in Sri Lanka the power sharing.

Senator S.M. Zafar: I came in 1966 to attend the Quran Conference, there was also a Muslim minister Mr. M.H. Muhammad, Minister for Transport.

Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe: Now, I think, the Muslims are in majority in some districts of eastern province, but in many areas they hold the balance.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: Excellency, you have started the peace process with Tamil Tigers and talks seems to be unrivaled, what would be your prognosis, how to go about it?

Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe: It started in 1984 and by 2001 we were pushed back into the Jaffna city. The economy was in trouble. While dealing with this whole issue of terrorism, there were two factors, the armed struggle and the political issue. We started these talks, we reached out to the Tamil community and the idea was gradually to give some time to them. The international community put on pressure on them

and they signed the peace accord. The accord says the armed forces of Sri Lanka should look after the integrity of Sri Lanka. I do not know how the LTTE signed this.

Senator S.M. Zafar: What was India's claim on Jaffna?

Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe: No, no, they came in on the basis of protecting the Tamils from genocide, that's in 1983, till Rajiv Gandhi signed the Sri Lankan Accord after that they moved off. They tried to bring in arms and we tried to send back but they signed the agreement. There was a clause, it said that both parties recognize the right of armed forces of Sri Lanka to safeguard the territorial integrity of the Sri Lanka.

Senator S.M. Zafar: What is the extraordinary period and experiment of having the Indian soldiers here? How you work out?

Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe: They came in and they were gradually forcing this out, forcing the LTTE out. The Indians came in completely unprepared.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: But the people in Pakistan felt that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi had been out focused by Mr. Jayewardene.

Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe: That's what happened finally. I tried to go there in 1987 when the Indo-Lanka Accord was signed but Mr. Jayewardene told me there are three parties, one is terrorists, second is the government of Sri Lanka and third is India. The Indians are now with the Tamils and I can't take both of them on. I have to take one of them on myself.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: Sri Lanka stood for Pakistan in difficult moments and we are very grateful for your support because of very strategic bond, longstanding bond, above party lines.

Senator S.M. Zafar: Excellency, in recent elections, the UNP decided not to contest elections in the east. There is also a briefing in this morning about the situation in the east and elections were held with 60% turnout, but surprisingly your party, one of the largest party, decided not to contest the elections.

Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe: What happened, they used one of the breakaway factions. Initially, they were armed, they were owned by the Defence Ministry, owned by the Secretary Defence, and they decided to back elections, and we were against it because they were not allowing elections to be held, we had contested the elections earlier in 2004, LTTE killed our candidate and in 2005 they prevented people from voting, and the army group was backed by the government. The situation was bad, the ground situation was different. It was difficult to run a campaign, find a candidate. So, in these circumstances, we felt we should stay out.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: Thank you, Excellency. It's been a very good meeting. It's meeting like old friends. Tomorrow, we have meetings with the President, Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister. We are very grateful to your Excellency for giving us the time.

Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe: My pleasure to have you and Pakistani members of parliament and senators here.

A gift was presented to Leader of the Opposition.

Meeting with H.E. Mahinda Rajapaksa, President of Sri Lanka

March 14, 2008.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: Thank you for giving us the time to see you. Let me first introduce the members of the delegation. Col. (Retd.) Tahir Hussain Mashhadi from our coalition partner, the MQM and when he retired from the Army he started writing articles. He is a thinking military man and now he is a politician also. We have Mr. Iftikhar Ullah Babar, Secretary of our Committee. On his left, is Maulana Sami-ul-Haq, he is from the religious right but is on my left, he heads the biggest and the most prominent seminary (Madrassah), namely, Darul Uloom Haqqania, in Pakistan. He is a leading religious scholar as well and Chairman of the Standing Committee on Religious Affairs. Senator S. M. Zafar is Chairman of the Human Rights

Committee of the Senate. He is a former Federal Minister for Law & Justice.

There are strong strategic relations between Pakistan and Sri Lanka and irrespective of which Government is in power, strategic ties continue. Pakistan is grateful to Sri Lanka for standing by Pakistan in the last Commonwealth meeting where its membership was suspended. Unfortunately, Pakistan and Sri Lanka face terrorism problems. Sri Lanka can count on Pakistan in the hour of need.

**Mr. Mahinda Rajapaksa,
President of Sri Lanka:** If not for Pakistan Sri Lanka would have lost Jaffna in 2002.



Colombo, March 14: Meeting with the President of Sri Lanka, H.E. Mahinda Rajapaksa.



Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: It is heartening to note that the President of Sri Lanka has roots in the public. We also need a strong President because the neighbour is very aggressive.

Mr. Mahinda Rajapaksa: We had the Supreme Court problem and I heard about controversy in your country as well.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: Sir, how did you manage the judicial crisis?

Mr. Mahinda Rajapaksa: I do not respond and the keep quite and I keep shaking his hand. We raised the judges salaries also.

AVM Shahzad Chaudhary: The election in the eastern part of Sri Lanka was a great success.

Mr. Mahinda Rajapaksa: We started development in the eastern part for which Rs. 200 million were allocated.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: What about talks with LTTE?

Mr. Mahinda Rajapaksa: We are ready if they accept our terms.

Senator S. M. Zafar: There seems to be a lot of controversy on the 17th Amendment in your country.

Mr. Mahinda Rajapaksa: I was member of the Constitutional Council. Some are appointed and some are not responsible to the Parliament and the President. So it creates another parallel system. Things get politicized by political parties.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: The same thing happened in Pakistan, for example, the Federal Public Service Commission became quite independent.

Senator S. M. Zafar: Can the President be a member of a political party?

Mr. Mahinda Rajapaksa: Yes. The term of the President is longer than the Parliament. We have a bit of British and a bit of French system. I am also the Defence Minister. I miss the Parliament where one answers questions and discusses issues.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: We get sermons on human rights from Western ambassadors but we should tell them what is happening in Guantanamo Bay. Sir, thank you once again, for your time.

At the end of the meeting gifts were exchanged between the two sides.

Meeting with H.E. Rohitha Bogollagama, Minister for Foreign Affairs

March 14, 2008.



Mr. Rohitha Bogollagama: I welcome you and your delegation to Sri Lanka and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: Let me first introduce the members of my delegation. Col. (Retd.) Tahir Hussain Mashhadi is from our coalition partner, the MQM. We have Mr. Iftikhar Ullah Babar, Secretary of our Committee. On his left, is Maulana Sami-ul-Haq, he is from the religious right. He is a leading religious scholar as well as Chairman of the Standing Committee on Religious Affairs. Senator S.M. Zafar is Chairman of the Human Rights Committee of the Senate. He is a former Federal Minister for Law & Justice.

Sir, you are an articulate and forceful spokesman of the Government of Sri Lanka. I thank you for your invitation. We thank the government of Sri

Lanka for its support to Pakistan during the last Commonwealth meeting when it voted against the suspension of Pakistan's membership from the Commonwealth.

Mr. Rohitha Bogollagama: We believe that Pakistan should always remain in the Commonwealth. I know you are facing difficulties with regard to terrorism, but still you are also supporting on that. I understand you had a good meeting with our President this morning. Since you are leaving for your next meeting I will not engage you any longer and we shall be discussing things during the dinner at my residence today.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: Yes, we had a very good meeting with Mr. President. We look forward to our meeting at your residence in the evening.

The Foreign Minister hosted a dinner in honour of the delegation at his residence, which was attended by dignitaries from the Sri Lankan capital. The dinner was followed by exchange of gifts between the two sides.



Colombo, March 14: A group photo with Mr. Rohitha Bogollagama, Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka.

Meeting with H.E. W. J. M. Lokubandara, Speaker, National Assembly of Sri Lanka

March 14, 2008.

Mr. W. J. M. Lokubandara: Welcome to Sri Lanka and the Parliament building. I am sure you are being looked after well and enjoying your stay in Sri Lanka. How is Mr. Soomro doing these days? I know he is the caretaker Prime Minister of Pakistan.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: Thank you for giving us this opportunity to meet you. You come from a different political party but were elected Speaker of the National Assembly. How did you manage it? Is it the trust of the people?

AVM Shahzad Chaudhary: Mr. Speaker has tremendous patience, that is why, he is very successful.

Senator S. M. Zafar: Is the Parliament in Sri Lanka rowdy? Do the members of Parliament have official living quarters in Colombo and do they have official staff?

Mr. W. J. M. Lokubandara: The Parliament is not unruly. The members of Parliament have official living quarters close to the Parliament building and all members have staff and offices in Colombo.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: What is your view on the meetings of minds of Buddhist and Islamic quarters?

Senator Maulana Sami-ul-Haq: Is there any empirical evidence on meeting of minds?



Colombo, March 14: Meeting with H.E. W. J. M. Lokubandara, Speaker of the Parliament of Sri Lanka.

Mr. W. J. M. Lokubandara: Ibne Batuta and Marco Polo have talked about it in their writings. Let us proceed to lunch. We can continue our discussion there.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: Sir, thank you for your time.

After lunch the two sides exchanged mementoes.



Meeting with H.E. Ratnasiri Wickremanayake, Prime Minister of Sri Lanka

March 14, 2008.



Colombo, March 14: Meeting with H.E. Rathnasiri Wickramanayake, the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka.

Mr. Ratnasiri Wickremanayake: I welcome you and your delegation to Sri Lanka.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: The President of Pakistan, Mr. Pervez Musharraf and Prime Minister Mohammedman Soomro have asked me to convey their greetings to you. Do the people of Sri Lanka feel the need of a second House of the Parliament?

Mr. Ratnasiri Wickremanayake: Before the 70s, we had a Senate but it was done away with. The All Parties Conference is now hinting about reviving it again.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: Why was Senate done away with?

Mr. Ratnasiri Wickremanayake: We wanted to do away with everything the British had left. We rushed through the 17th Amendment but now there is a problem.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: Pakistan is a federation and Senate has equal representation from all the provinces. The National Assembly is elected on the basis of population. In a federal system the Senate is important and it could be helpful in your system too.

Mr. Ratnasiri Wickremanayake: Yes, you are right. When we have the Senate some unidentified groups will be recognized.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: Congratulations on the election in the east of Sri Lanka with 60% participation. Sir, when did you start politics?

Mr. Ratnasiri Wickremanayake: I entered in politics in March, 1960.

AVM Shahzad Chaudhary: The Prime Minister was instrumental in allowing Pakistan to become the President of Sri Lanka – Pakistan Parliamentary Association.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: Sri Lanka and Pakistan share deep security and strategic relations.

Mr. Ratnasiri Wickremanayake: It is a very special relation with Pakistan.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: You have a good democratic system and I hope Pakistan enters a phase of stable democracy. Sir, we had a good stay in Sri Lanka and we have received warmth and respect in your great country and I hope we will be able to reciprocate it. Sir, thank you for your time.

After the meeting the two sides exchanged gifts.



APPENDIX

- Meeting with Mr. Issa al-Kuwari, Deputy Chairman of the Advisory Council (Muslim Shoora), Qatar
- Visit to the Headquarters of Al-Jazeera TV Network



Meeting with Mr. Issa Al-Kuwari, Deputy Chairman of the Advisory Council (Muslim Shoora), Qatar

March 13, 2008.



Mr. Issa Al-Kuwari: Welcome to Qatar and the Advisory Council.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: Thank you for your hospitality and warm reception.

Mr. Issa Al-Kuwari: Pak-Qatar trade relations are expanding. Qatar has been importing agricultural produce from Pakistan, especially rice, sugar, meat and fruits and desires to import more from Pakistan. Pakistan is playing a constructive role in the development of Muslim Ummah and it is the only Muslim nuclear power which is a matter of pride for the Muslim world. The people of Pakistan are very talented and

hardworking and have been playing an important role in the national development of Qatar.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: Pakistan considers Qatar as a very important country. Qatar is the third largest gas producer in the world and situated very close to Pakistan. Pakistan would like to join Dolphin Gas pipeline project that has been supplying gas to UAE and Muscat. How Qatar has been maintaining close relations with Iran, despite being a close ally of the American camp.

Mr. Issa Al-Kuwari: Iran is an important country of the Gulf region and Qatar gives high

importance to its relations with Iran and believes that peace and stability in the region could not be ensured without participation of Iran in the regional affairs. Keeping in view the importance of Iran in regional peace and stability, Qatar invited the Iranian President as guest speaker at the GCC Summit held in Doha in December, 2007 which was hailed by all Arab leadership. When will the new government in Pakistan take charge?

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: The new government in Pakistan will assume responsibilities hopefully this month. How about elections in Qatar?

Mr. Issa Al-Kuwari: Qatar is the second country after Kuwait, which held municipal elections in the Gulf region. Elections for the new parliament are planned and might be held in the next one to two years timeframe.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: Thank you for your time. I invite the Chairman of the Council and your good self to visit Pakistan at your earliest convenience.

Mr. Issa Al-Kuwari: Insha Allah, I will visit Pakistan very soon. Thank you for the invitation.

AVM Shahzad Chaudhary: The Prime Minister was instrumental in allowing Pakistan to become the President of Sri Lanka – Pakistan Parliamentary Association.

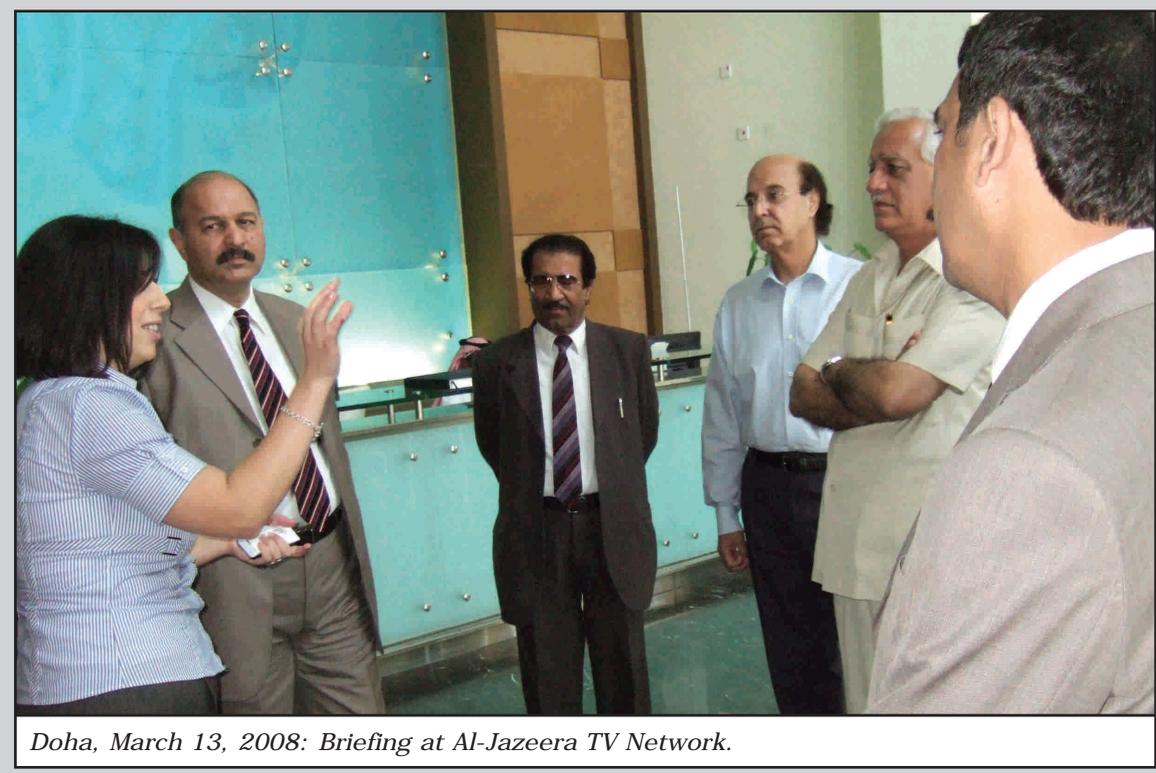
Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: Sri Lanka and Pakistan share deep security and strategic relations.

Mr. Rathnasiri Wickramanayake: It is a very special relation with Pakistan.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: You have a good democratic system and I hope Pakistan enters a phase of stable democracy. Sir, we had a good stay in Sri Lanka and we have received warmth and respect in your great country and I hope we will be able to reciprocate it. Sir, thank you for your time.

After the meeting the two sides exchanged gifts.

Visit to the Headquarters of Al-Jazeera TV Network



The delegation also visited the Headquarters of Al-Jazeera TV Network and was shown around the studios and other facilities. The delegation

showed keen interest in the state of the art facilities at the studios and asked questions about the functioning of the Network.



Profiles of the Chairman and Members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee





Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed

(PML - Federal Capital)
Chairman

Mushahid Hussain Sayed is currently a Senator and Chairman, Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate. He is also Secretary General of the Pakistan Muslim League. He has been a Cabinet Minister, Journalist, university teacher and political analyst. As Information Minister from 1997 to 1999, Mushahid Hussain was the country's principal spokesman and appeared frequently on international television and radio channels to present Pakistan's position on issues ranging from nuclear weapons to Islam and foreign policy. He was also Leader of Pakistan's Delegation to the UN Human Rights Commission at Geneva in 1993.

After October 12, 1999, Mushahid Hussain was held without any charges as a political prisoner for four-hundred and forty (440) days, including a period in solitary imprisonment. The world's leading human rights organization, Amnesty International, declared him a 'Prisoner of Conscience' making him the first such Pakistani to be honoured for the year 2000.

Mushahid Hussain has a Master's degree from the School of Foreign Services in Georgetown University at Washington. While studying in the US, he was President of the Pakistan Students Association and was awarded a Congressional Internship to work in the United States Congress. After completion of studies in the United States, he returned to Pakistan and became Member, Directing Staff of the country's prestigious training institution for civil servants, the Pakistan Administrative Staff College, training new diplomats. He then joined Pakistan's oldest seat of learning, the Punjab University, as Lecturer on International Relations in the Political Science Department, from where he along with three other teachers was removed on political grounds during Martial Law.

In 1982, at age 29, he became the youngest Editor of national English daily, 'The Muslim', published from capital Islamabad, which was respected for its independent positions.

As a specialist on international political and strategic issues, he has lectured widely and his articles have been published in various national and international publications including 'The New York Times', 'The Washington Post', 'International Herald Tribune', and 'Middle East International'. He was elected Co-Chairman of the NAM Media Conference of 100 countries, held in New Delhi in December 1983 and he is the first Pakistani journalist to have started a syndicated column in the Indian media, writing regularly in the 'Times of India' and the 'Hindustan Times' in 1989.

Mr. Mushahid Hussain is the author of three books. He is also Chairman of the Board of Governors of Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI), a leading Think Tank.

He is also the Vice President of the Centrist Democrat International (CDI) Asia – Pacific Chapter. On January 27, 2006, he was awarded Congressional Medal of Achievement by the House of Representatives of the Republic of the Philippines. He served as Pakistan's Representative to the 15-member Commission of Eminent Persons of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) tasked with preparing a Plan of Action & Reforms for the Muslim World by the Summit of Islamic Leaders held in Malaysia in October, 2003.

Membership of the Senate Committees:

- Committee on Foreign Relations, Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas (**Chairman**)
- Committee on Defence and Defence Production.
- Functional Committee on Government Assurances.
- Functional Committee on Human Rights.
- Finance Committee

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Makhdoom Shah Mehmood Qureshi

Foreign Minister
Ex-Officio Member

- Father's Name: Makhdoom Muhammad Sajjad Hussain Qureshi
Ex-Governor, Punjab, Pakistan.
- Date of Birth: June 22, 1956
- Academic Qualification: M.A. (CANTAB)
- Educational Institutions attended:
 - (i) Aitcheson College, Lahore, Pakistan
 - (ii) F.C. College, Lahore, Pakistan
 - (iii) Cambridge University, U.K.
- Marital status: Married with three children.

Political Positions:

- Federal Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs, Pakistan (1994 – 96)
- Federal Parliamentary Secretary for Food and Agriculture, Pakistan (1993 – 94)
- Minister for Planning and Development, Punjab, Pakistan (1988 – 90)
- Minister for Finance, Punjab, Pakistan (1990 – 93)
- Chairman, Prime Minister's Task Force on Agriculture (1993)
- Chairman, Institutional Reforms Group, Government of Pakistan (1994 – 96)
- Deputy Secretary General, Pakistan Peoples Party, Pakistan (1997)
- Spokesman to the Chairperson, Pakistan Peoples Party, Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto (1996)
- Member, Central Executive Committee, Pakistan Peoples Party (1997)
- Chairman, Policy Planning Committee, Pakistan Peoples Party, Pakistan
- Chairman, Multan Development Authority (2001)
- Chairman Market Committee, Multan (2001)
- President, PPP – Punjab (2006)
- President Alliance for Restoration of Democracy (ARD), Punjab



Senator Wasim Sajjad
(PML - Federal Capital)
Member

Mr. Wasim Sajjad was born on 30th March, 1941. He went to Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar in 1964 from where he obtained the Degrees of M.A. (Jurisprudence) and B.C.L. He is a Barrister-at-Law from the Inner Temple London and an Honorary Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford.

He has a highly distinguished career in politics and public service and has held the offices of :

President of Pakistan (July to November, 1993 and December, 1997 to January, 1998).

Chairman, Senate of Pakistan (24th December, 1988 to 12th October, 1999). Elected in 1988 and re-elected in 1991, 1994 and 1997.

Federal Minister for Law, Justice & Parliamentary Affairs (September, 1986 to December 1988). Has also held the portfolio of the Federal Minister for Interior & Narcotics Control.

Leader of the House in the Senate of Pakistan, 2003 - 2008.

Leader of the Opposition in the Senate of Pakistan, 1988.

He was elected as Senator from Punjab on a technocrat seat in 1985. Re-elected in 1991, 1994, 1997 and 2003. As a Lawyer by profession, he is presently heading his own law firm (Sajjad Law Associates) having its Head Office in Islamabad.

He is also the President of the Foundation for Advancement of Science & Technology and Chancellor of the National University of Computer and Emerging Sciences.

Mr. Wasim Sajjad has travelled extensively and visited over fifty countries. He is married and has three children.

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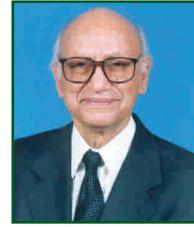
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Senator S. M. Zafar
(PML - Punjab)
Member

Senator S. M. Zafar is a prominent lawyer and former Federal Minister for Law and Parliamentary Affairs, Pakistan. He is involved with various aworks and is Chairman of the Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency - PILDAT's Board of Advisors, Chairman of the Human Rights Society of Pakistan as well as of the Senate Committee on Human Rights. He was President of the High Court Bar Association Lahore (1975) and President of the Supreme Court Bar Association (1979). He is also Chairman of the Cultural Association of Pakistan. Senator Zafar has visited the US, Canada, UK, France and Germany. He enjoys farming and has three sons and a daughter.

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Senator Muhammad Ali Durrani
(PML - Punjab)
Member

Senator Muhammad Ali Durrani, former Minister for Information and Broadcasting, is a leading political activist and grass roots organizer of his party who founded the youth movement "Pasban". He was Secretary General of the National Alliance, a coalition partner of the ruling party. He is also the President of the Wise Education Society and Women Welfare Society. He is the Founder of the Institute of Afghan Affairs (1985) and Education for All (EFA). He has launched campaigns for the Kashmir cause, free employment (1997), Shaukat Khanum Memorial Trust Hospital, collective marriage ceremony, true freedom (2000), and for relief on foreign debt (2001). He played a leading role in the establishment of IJI (1988), Millat Party, National Alliance and the Grand National Alliance. Senator Durrani has visited Europe, Asia and Africa and is married with three sons and a daughter.

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Senator Prof. Khurshid Ahmad
(MMA - NWFP)
Member

A world renowned research scholar, an educationist, an economist, a versatile writer and a preacher of Islam, Prof. Khurshid Ahmad was born on March 23, 1932 at Delhi, India. He holds a Bachelors degree in Law and Jurisprudence, Masters degrees in Economics and Islamic Studies and an Honorary Doctorate (Ph.D) in Education. Prof. Khurshid Ahmad has held the portfolio of the Federal Minister of Planning and Development and has been Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission in the Government of Pakistan from 1978 to 1979. He has written around 30 books in English, over 20 in Urdu and contributed to a large number of magazines. Senator Ahmed was elected as member of the Senate in February, 2003, and is a member of the Senate's Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Kashmir Affairs and Northern Affairs. He previously served as member of the Senate from March 1985 till March 1997. During that tenure he was also Chairman of the Senate Standing Committee on Finance and Economic Affairs from 1991 till March, 1997. He is Vice President (Naib Ameer) of Jama'at-e-Islami Pakistan and Founder and Chairman of both Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad and the Islamic Foundation, Leicestershire, UK.

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Senator Nisar A. Memon
(PML - Sindh)
Member

Senator Nisar A. Memon is the Chairman of the Standing Committee on Defence & Defence Production. He is also the former Chief Executive of the IBM Pakistan. Mr. Nisar Memon previously served as Federal Minister for Information and Broadcasting three times (1993, 2002 and 2007); as President of the Overseas investors chamber of Commerce & Industry Pakistan (1994); and as Chairman Board of Directors, Engro Chemicals Limited, Pakistan (2001-2002). He is a Syndicate member of Karachi University and President of The Reformers. Senator Memon has visited Europe, USA, Canada, Middle East, Africa and Central Asia. He is married with two daughters and enjoys reading and playing Golf.

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Senator Maulana Sami-ul-Haq
(MMA - NWFP)
Member



Senator Sami-ul-Haq completed education from Jamia Darul Uloom Haqqania Akora Khattak, and received a degree in Tafseer from spiritual leader Maulana Ahmad Ali Lahori. He was awarded an honorary degree from Darululoom Deoband India and Jamia Makka Muazzama, serving as Chancellor and Teacher of Hadith. Senator Maulana Sami-ul-Haq is a central leader of MMA and runs Dar ul Uloom Haqqania, a religious seminary at Akora Khattak, NWFP. He is also the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Religious Affairs and Minorities Affairs, and has been serving in the Senate of Pakistan since 1985. Senator Sami-ul-Haq is the Secretary General of the JUI-S, and Senior Vice President of the Islamic Democratic Alliance. He is Founder and Secretary General of the National Uniformity Council (A common council of all religious political parties). He is also the founder of the monthly Jamia Haqqania Al-Haq, and has authored several religio-political books in Urdu.

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Senator Saadia Abbasi
(PML-N - Punjab)
Member

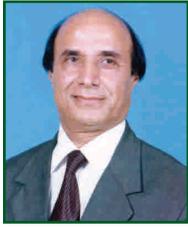


Committee(s):

- Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas.
- Standing Committee on Industries & Production and Special Initiatives.
- Standing Committee on Local Government and Rural Development.
- Standing Committee on Ports and Shipping.
- Standing Committee on Social Welfare and Special Education.

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Senator Sardar M. Latif Khan Khosa
(PPPP - Punjab)
Member

Senator Sardar Muhammad Latif Khan Khosa is one of the country's leading lawyers who has actively defended constitutional and political cases of his party leadership. He was President of the High Court Bar Association thrice (1981-82, 1987-88, 1995-96), Member Pakistan Bar Council since 1995, Chairman Executive Committee P.B.C. (1995-96), Chairman Appeal Committee Punjab-1 (1996-2000) and Member Tribunal P.B.C. (1995-2000). He is a Life Member of the High Court Bars of Lahore, Multan and Rawalpindi. He is also Life Member of the Supreme Court Bar Association, and Chairman of Khosa Law Chambers. Senator Khosa has visited the USA, Canada, France, UK, China, Ireland, Dubai and Saudi Arabia. He is married with four sons and two daughters and enjoys cricket, debating and music.

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Six Road Chowk, Satellite Town



Senator Muhammad Talha Mahmood Aryan
(MMA - NWFP)
Member

Membership of the Senate Committees

- Standing Committee on Interior (Chairman).
- Standing Committee on Petroleum and Natural Resources.
- Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas.
- Functional Committee on Government Assurances.

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Senator Col (R) Syed Tahir Hussan Mashhadi
(MQM - Sindh)



Education:

- BSC (Hons)
- PSC (Command and Staff Course Quetta)

Achievements:

- Ex-Chairman, District Karachi East.
- Ex-Town Nazim, Jamshed Town, Karachi.
- Columnist, Political Analyst, articles frequently appear in leading English language newspapers and periodicals.
- Retired Army Officer.

Membership of Senate Committees:

- Committee on Rules of Procedures and Privileges. **(Chairman Committee)**
- Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas.
- Standing Committee on Culture, Sports and Youth Affairs and Tourism.
- Standing Committee on Education and Science and Technology.
- Standing Committee on Interior.

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Senator Gulshan Saeed
(PML - Punjab)
Member



Senator Gulshan Saeed, Chairperson, Senate Standing Committee on Ports and Shipping, is a long-standing political activist and she runs an NGO called Roshan Pakistan. She was a member of the Punjab Social Welfare Board from 1998-2002. She has visited the UK, Thailand, Saudi Arabia, France, Holland and USA. Senator Gulshan Saeed is married with two sons and two daughters.

She is currently the Vice President of the Women's Wing of Pakistan Muslim League, and member of its General Council. She has held assignments of Punjab Social Welfare Board, Bait-ul-Mal Punjab and Chairman Zakat Committee Lahore.

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Mr. Iftikhar Ullah Babar
Secretary Committee

Mr. Iftikhar Ullah Babar is Additional Secretary at the Senate of Pakistan and is currently working with the Parliamentary Committees of the Senate.

Mr. Babar completed his Secondary School and Higher Secondary School from Burn Hall School Abbottabad and Abbottabad Public School respectively. He attended Edwardes College Peshawar for his Bachelor's Degree and University of Peshawar for a Master's Degree in Economics. He also holds a Master's Degree in Development Studies from the Institute of Social Studies (ISS) in The Hague, The Netherlands.

Mr. Babar attended the 13th Advance Management and Development course at the National Institute of Public Administration (NIPA) Peshawar and the 76th National Management Course at the Pakistan Administrative Staff College (PASC) Lahore.

Mr. Babar has authored a number of research articles on wide ranging topics namely, the Eighth Constitutional Amendment, Research support to Parliamentarians, the Parliamentary Committee System in Pakistan and Parliament and Financial Control. He has written numerous reports for the Committees, which were presented in the Senate.

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Mr. Tayyab Siddiqui
Consultant
Ambassador (R)

Mr. Tayyab Siddiqui joined the Foreign Service of Pakistan in 1967 and served as Ambassador of Pakistan to Zimbabwe (1986-1990), with concurrent accreditation to Zambia, Botswana and Namibia; to Indonesia (1992-1996), with concurrent accreditation to Papua New Guinea; to Egypt (1997-1999); and to Switzerland (1999-2003), and also to the Holy See and Liechtenstein.

In a 35 - year career as a diplomat, he also served in Pakistan missions in Amman, Beirut, Colombo, Berlin (GDR), Athens, Dhaka and Washington D.C. He was a member of Pakistan delegation to the UNGA for four years (1977-1980).

Ambassador Siddiqui is currently a regular analyst on international affairs with Radio Pakistan and PTV and other private channels. He is a regular contributor to English dailies - 'Dawn', 'The Nation' and 'The Post' on current international issues. He also contributes a regular column entitled "Harf-e-Haq" to the Urdu daily, 'Ausaf'. The selection of his columns was published in March, 2005.

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About the Hanns Seidel Foundation

The Hanns Seidel Foundation (HSF) is a non-profit organization established in 1967 with its headquarters in Munich. Its activities, financed by the Federal Republic of Germany, by the Free State of Bavaria, and by private donations, are organized through four main departments, the Academy for Politics and Current Affairs, the Institute for Adult Civic Education, the Scholarship organization and the Institute for International Contact and Cooperation.

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